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FIJIAN FRONTIER

By

LAURA THOMPSON

Introduction by

B. MALINOWSKI

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FIJIAN FRONTIER

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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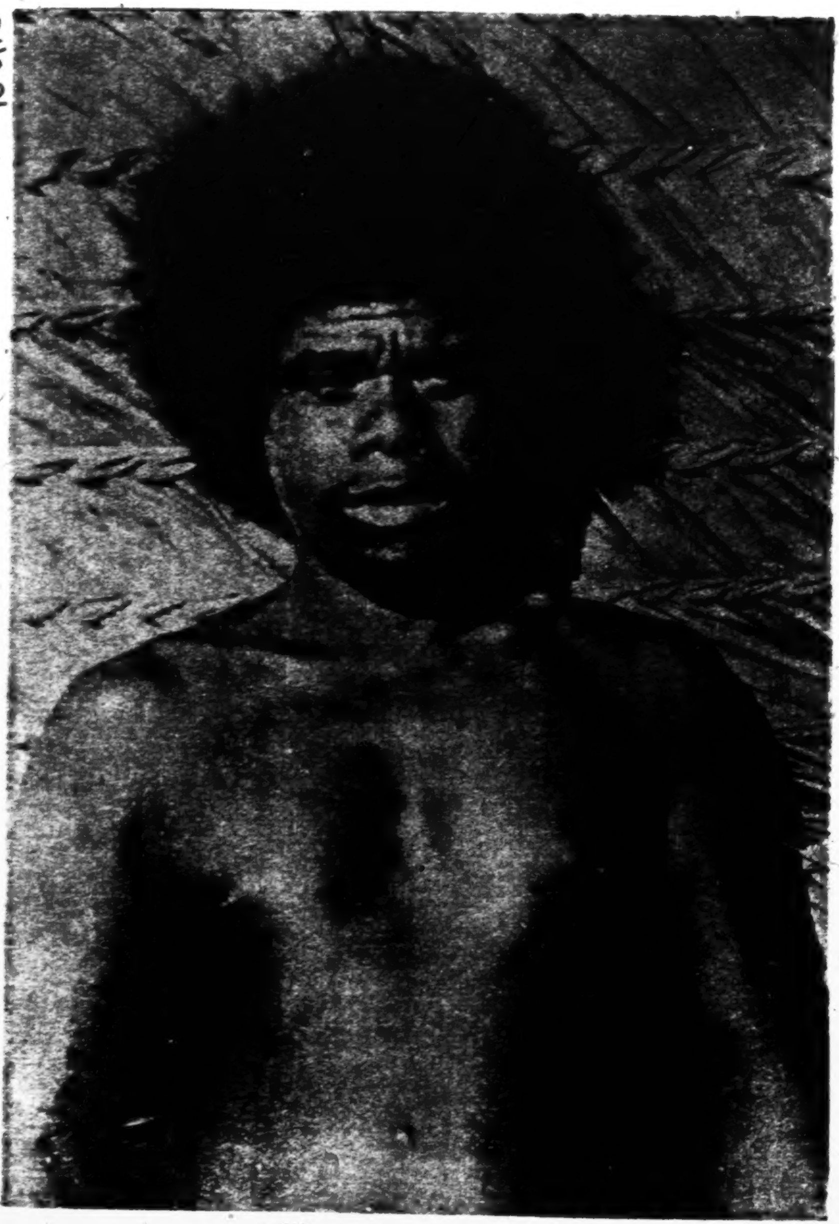

A YOUNG MAN FROM FULANGA

[facing p. iii]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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To

MAUD B. THOMPSON

[p.v]

FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau:
the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the
[797] trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central
Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji
[648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of
177 the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally
439 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

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177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

the time when these studies can be of value to the administrator, the educator, and the medical practitioner. 121 Using the results of field research, I have made the following study in the hope that it may be of practical value in helping to cope with some of the problems brought about by the expansion of western civilization.

Although the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people, that is people without a written tradition, to western culture throughout the world. Although the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another, they should throw light on the general problem of how culture changes and can be changed. Moreover, the comparison of a number of detailed studies of specific groups of people should lead to a clearer understanding of the processes set in motion by the expansion of western civilization and of the problems of scientific administration.

The material on which this study is based was gathered 114 during nine months of ethnological field work in the Fiji 123 islands in 1933-34, and the data presented in this study apply to this date unless otherwise specified. While in Fiji I learned to know the natives of the eastern islands, their language and their culture by actually living among them in their villages and participating in their daily life. From my headquarters in Tokalau village on Kambara I studied the people of the island and made trips by native canoe, since no other transportation was available, to the neighboring islands of Wangava, Namuka-i-Lau, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. These trips, which varied from 3 to 40 miles each on the open sea, were made in native outrigger canoes with crab claw sails of mat. Whether we skimmed in a stiff gale over the deep sea swells, lay becalmed under the scorching sun, or strained our eyes through the darkening night to hold our course to the faint low silhouette of an island, these canoe voyages were one of the highlights of my sojourn in Lau.

122 The field research was made possible by a fellowship from Yale University and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The data were assembled and the manuscript prepared with the help of a grant from the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.[1] To these institutions I am greatly indebted. 000 I also wish to express my appreciation to the people of Fiji—colonial officials, European residents and natives who gave me every possible aid in this work. I thank especially His Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji, Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs, the Hon. Victor W. T. McGusty, M.D., Secretary for Indian Affairs, Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, and Mr. George T. Barker of the Fiji Museum for their kindness and support. I also thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, for identification of native plant names, Dr. Harry S. Ladd and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, former Research Associates of the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands, and Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, for criticism of the manuscript. I am most indebted to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

The Institute of Pacific Relations in supporting the study and undertaking the publication of this report has been moved largely by its interest in the broad question of administration and social and economic development in the dependencies of

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113 [1] Facts of interest to the specialist, such as details of social organization, arts and crafts, mythology, and ceremonies, are being published elsewhere. See L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," Bishop Museum, *Bulletin 162* (in press); "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschigruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie,* Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937, translated in the *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198; "Adzes from the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938; "The Pottery of the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

the Pacific area, a topic which has had an important place 000 for many years in the Institute's international research program. Among the earlier Institute reports in this field may be mentioned *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea,* prepared under the direction of the Hon. F. W. Eggleston for the Victorian Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs; *Modern Samoa* and *Taming Philippine Headhunters,* by Felix and Marie Keesing; *Government of Pacific Dependencies: British Malaya,* by W. J. Hinton; *The Peoples of Hawaii,* by Romanzo Adams; *Native Education,* prepared by the Hon. Hugh Wyndham for the Royal Institute of International Affairs; *French Indo-China,* by Virginia Thompson; *Colonial Policy,* by A. D. A. de Kat Angelino; *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate,* by Tadao Yanaihara (in press); a number of studies, still in press, on economic development in Indo-China, Netherlands Indies, Korea, the Philippines and New Guinea; a recent memorandum on dependencies of the Pacific area, prepared by Miss Margaret Bryant of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and my own current study of education and administration in Guam. Though the present book is issued under the auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, it should be emphasized that neither the Council nor the Institute as a whole accepts responsibility for statements of fact or opinion expressed in it.

LAURA THOMPSON

Honolulu
June, 1939

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INTRODUCTION

By B. MALINOWSKI

000 WHETHER or not the science of man is going to become a real science depends on three questions: can observation in the field be empirical and precise; is there any chance of discovering laws and general rules in anthropology; is the practical application of anthropological principles possible?

On all three points certain handicaps have developed in field work, theory, and applied anthropology. The preconception that anthropology is "the science of primitive man" has often made the field worker shut his eyes to all that happens under the influence of European culture. The savage is expected to be naked, inclined toward headhunting, unable to read and write, while the sight of a missionary should produce a flow of gastric juices rather than of hymns and prayers.

The propensity to falsify observation in the very act of making it, by shutting the eyes to any encroachments of western civilization, was detrimental to earlier field work. Most of the really serious mistakes, for instance, which I myself committed in the field, between 1914 and 1918, were due to the fact that I wanted my Melanesians to be genuine Melanesians and not at all tainted with western knowledge, belief, or technology.

This bias is largely responsible also for our failure to discover that there are laws and general principles of cultural process. Had anthropology in its empirical work been fully aware that culture change is part of its legitimate business, it would soon have become evident that all primitive cultures are gradually

000 being transformed into something which approximates western civilization. The fuller study of this process of transformation again would have revealed that there is a common measure between all human cultures. This is to be found in the existence of basic universally human needs and their satisfaction through fundamentally similar types of organized pursuits and institutions.

It is the search for this common measure which modern anthropology begins to recognize more and more as its main aim. Intuitive schools may still rhapsodize about "specific tribal geniuses", about "the incommensurability of human cultures", and provide each culture with its own colorful descriptive label. Real scientific work is confined to the thorough, consistent, and clear consideration of what all cultures have in common with each other, or why they differ, because of environment, contacts, and level of evolutionary differentiation.

As to the third point, it is clear that as soon as we develop an interest in general laws of cultural process, practical application will follow. The administrator cannot "apply" the hypothesis that the origins of human marriage are to be found in promiscuity or else in a chaste, paradisiacal monogamy à la Adam and Eve. On the other hand, a good knowledge of how primitive politics works, the nature of legal and customary sanctions in land tenure, the marriage contract, or kinship obligations bears directly on administrative work. Not only is such knowledge capable of application, but the modern administrator is rapidly realizing that unless he scientifically knows the human material with which he is dealing, he will not be able to discharge his task properly.

The missionary ought to be interested in the problems of how to transform animism, nature cults, or totemic creeds into higher forms of religion. In order to do that he must be fully acquainted with the foundations of ancestral worship in native family life; with sexual morality and its supernatural sanctions; and with the economic implications of primitive magic and religion.

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In my opinion Dr. Laura Thompson's *Fijian Frontier* is a genuine sample of scientific anthropology. The author, as every true scientific observer must, keeps her eyes open on everything which exists. She does not vitiate her observation by eliminating one of the most essential elements in her field: the existence and pertinacity of the white man and his camp followers. She realizes that in Kambara we have "a native culture which . . . has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world." This contact is so important, so far-reaching, and so pervading that any field work which would ignore its results would be definitely unscientific. We are indeed told by the author that "the aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration."

In this sentence, which concisely and clearly sums up my argument of the preceding paragraphs, the author has laid down her own methodological charter. In the book she has fully redeemed it.

We are always clearly informed of how an observation was made. We see the natives as they are at present, at times profoundly affected by the new conditions of life, at times clinging to their old beliefs in sorcery and ancestor worship; devoted to their old values and institutions in the ceremonial exchange of the *solevu,* in the right manner of getting married; following those customs, tabus, and principles which had governed their ancestors for centuries.

Such a scientific type of research and presentation allows us to see the Fijian as he was, as he is, and as he will be, much more clearly than if the writer had made her analysis before she had started her observations. It is remarkable how many of the old cultural characteristics still exist. In spite of the

000 century-and-a-half of contact the Fijian still educates his children by the old method of gradual assimilation, apprenticeship, and domestic homily. In matters economic, the principal interests of the natives are in the ceremonial exchange, in kinship obligations, and in the services which go with chieftainship and rank. The life history of the individual, although affected here and there by Christian rites and morals, shows still the old outline, while some of the phases which have been overtly abandoned are carried on *sub rosa.*

In each chapter we have first a full description of the integral process and the general picture of the native life of today. The author then disentangles the old from the new, the indigenous from the imported, and in each chapter has something to say about the future outlook and the conclusions which missionary, administrator, and teacher might draw from past mistakes and past achievements.

In Fiji, as elsewhere, perhaps the most interesting phase of culture contact is neither the historically old nor yet the recently acquired western elements, but the *tertium quid* of spontaneous, original, creative adaptations to contact and change. Take the excellent chapters on religion and sorcery. Besides the detailed description of the old belief in spirits, totems, and sorcery, besides the outline of missionary efforts, one finds also a full account of such new movements as the "immortality cult", the *luveniwai* or "water baby cult", the messianic and prophetic creeds which, as a rule, are a combination of political, economic, and religious drives and interests. These new religious growths are neither taken over from the old system nor yet borrowed from the Europeans. They are contact developments of an essentially new and original character.

The new adaptations in economics are equally significant. The Europeans by their very advent destroyed some of the old sources of tribal wealth. They introduced instead new crops and opened up new avenues of livelihood. Under the paternal system of British rule in Fiji the government frequently has to assume the rôle of Providence. When famine 000 strikes the country the necessary food is distributed. Land tenure has been reformed, property titles established, and the production of cash crops encouraged. The Europeans have also forbidden or at least discouraged native economic activities such as soliciting, competitive exchange, the chief's tribute, and the accumulation of useless valuables.

One of the most interesting contributions of the author consists in showing in a clear and objective manner where these administrative activities fail and why they fail. She is in full sympathy with the attitude of the British authorities. She gives them due credit not only for good will but also, on many points, for an intelligent and well-directed purpose. But she makes it quite clear that the main adaptations, the creative phase of change and transition must be achieved by the natives themselves.

The constructive and sympathetic yet outspoken criticism of the present book, such as is found at the end of the fourth chapter, ought to be read by administrator, anthropologist, and economist alike. There is hardly a sentence there which I could not endorse from my experiences in New Guinea or Central Africa, or which does not coincide with the conclusions of such African workers as Dr. A. I. Richards, Dr. M. Hunter, Messrs. Brown and Hutt, Mr. Godfrey Wilson, or Lord Hailey.

And this brings me to the question of how far some of the author's conclusions can be regarded as of universal validity. Dr. Thompson is rather modest in her claims on this score. In her Foreword she cautions that "the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people . . . to western culture." She tells us that "the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another." With this I fully agree, for it is better not to do anything uncritical in science. And yet I think that even

000 now a student might take six or seven good monographs on culture change and astonish the scientific world by pointing out the similarities in the process of change and adjustment. Take *Peasant Life in China* by Dr. Hsiao-tung Fei, the monographs on Mexican and Mayan communities by Robert Redfield, *Clash of Cultures and Contact of Races* by G. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, *Anthropology in Action* by Brown and Hutt—books covering Melanesia, Polynesia, Asia, Africa, and parts of America—and you will find an extraordinary convergence in problems, processes, and results.

As regards the political system, for instance, Dr. Thompson's analysis of indirect rule in Fiji, as well as her implied or explicit criticism of some of its features, would be endorsed by an anthropologist like Dr. Lucy Mair, who has studied the Baganda in East Africa, by Miss Margery Perham, who has critically analyzed the principles of indirect rule in Nigeria, or by Dr. Gordon Brown, who has worked among the Hehe in Tanganyika. Indirect rule, often misrepresented as the game of "find the chief or invent him" and misconstrued into a slavish adhesion to tribalism, is in reality a system which, while utilizing the old forces of loyalty and tradition, is yet fully adaptable to prospective needs of a culture in transition. Dr. Thompson points out exactly the same inconsistency in the Fijian system which has been laid bare for Northern Rhodesia by Dr. A. I. Richards. It is not practical to make the native chief an administrative official and yet to prevent tribute being paid to him according to his traditional prerogatives. Some of the religious and magical ideas which were connected with the old system of chieftainship cannot be abolished from one day to another without undermining the principle of authority.

There are in this book a number of general principles which any anthropologist can borrow and apply or test in his own field. The test, I venture to foretell, will as a rule have positive results. I think indeed that most of the principles laid down by Dr. Thompson are of universal validity. I am ooo deeply convinced that the motives of ceremonial exchange, of cooperative responsibility, the obligations of kinship and of rank are effective forces which cannot be decreed away on paper without affecting native economy as a whole. "A policy of encouraging creative production and economic self-reliance . . . the production of food and craft articles to be exchanged ceremonially between native groups and islands; the lifting of those regulations which tend to inhibit native economic activity"—all this is sound advice, well formulated and, as the reader of the pages from which I have quoted these isolated statements will see, well argued and documented.

The greatest charm as well as the value of the book is due to the fact that although a strictly scientific, sober account, it is also a real piece of artistic presentation of South Sea native life. The chapters on daily life, the accounts of childhood, of gradual maturation, of love-making and marriage, are among the best contributions to the ethnography of the South Seas. The accounts of marriages, kinship and family life will supply rich material to the psychoanalyst as well as to those interested in the theory of education and of sexual psychology.

Another quality which every specialist will recognize is the comprehensiveness of the account. Economics, education, the juridical ideas and practices, the political system, are all treated fully, clearly, and convincingly. We become well acquainted with the environmental setting of the natives, with their material culture, with the social organization, and the world of their ideas, beliefs, and values. The book can be recommended to everyone who wishes to obtain a real understanding of a South Sea culture; it can be used as an introduction to social science, and last, not least, as an artistic picture of primitive life in one of the most fascinating parts of the world.

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FIJIAN FRONTIER

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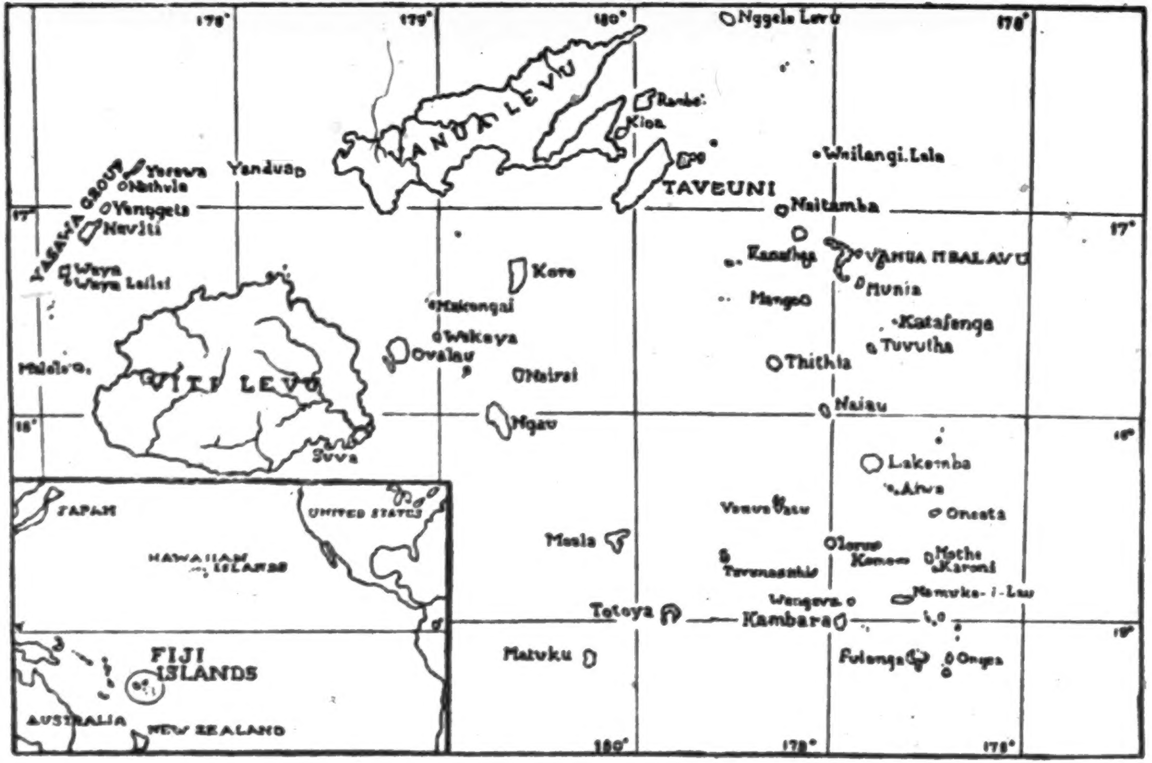
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Naviti
Waya
Waya Lailai
Malolo
Wailangi Lala
Naitamba
VANUA MBALAVU
Kanathea
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Nairai
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Suva
Lakemba
Aiwa
Oneata
Vanua Vatu
Moala
Olorua
Komo
Mothe
Karoni
Tavunasithi
Namuka-i-Lau
Wangava
Totoya
Kambara
Matuku
Fulanga
Ongea
JAPAN
UNITED STATES
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
FIJI ISLANDS
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND

Fiji Islands

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.
Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about
4½ miles long by 3½ miles wide. It is broken at the north-
west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one
sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark
green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island.
It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a
pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf.
Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile
apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along
the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on
the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides
of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested
limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also
at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated
not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, fre-
quently hostile and malicious.

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are
isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently
at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They
are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the
nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to
the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary,
several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the
traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a
limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden
land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To
the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited
island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits
who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in
their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped
the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the
steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and
fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited
islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1]
Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by
destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east
side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side.
Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116--Analyst]

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, 131
far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and 133
Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of
departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to
the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster
of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested
limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south
lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group.

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well 602
as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital
city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of
their physical world. Only within the limits of this world,
among their relatives, are they at home.

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her 137
forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart 322
of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and 439
other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on
Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of
Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or
Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft
industry has developed in southern Lau. The group
formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful
large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of
Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on
inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls,
gongs and headrests.

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea 134
are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth
of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and
of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently
to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil
are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of sub- 134
sistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 222

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[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm [435]
whale represents the highest value in Lau.

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least
soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks
were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they
scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom
out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or
scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden
land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people
arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but
rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another
island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing
better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of
the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather
god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of
this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole.
He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When
he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked
a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless
for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from
Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as
on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is
dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring
foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a
day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared,
and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven
is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish
consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled
in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are
gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the
women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is
considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are
practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps
over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a
long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest
edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine
island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and
flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government
in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 211
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams
and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish.
Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be
collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported
sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly
little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the
young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it
in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have
donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building [657]
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village,
but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh
water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of
them are in use.

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[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

132 Kambara is situated about 19 degrees south of the equator, and so has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. Most of the lively canoe traffic between the islands is carried on in these months. Although the temperature rarely falls below 70° the thin-blooded natives frequently shiver with cold, especially after the sun goes down. The remainder of the year is rainy and hot with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February and March. At this time few native crews venture in canoes beyond the protecting reefs, for a small black cloud on the horizon can suddenly develop into an ugly squall which rips a mat sail and tosses a canoe about like a toy boat on a mighty ocean.

There is a difference in climate between the west and the east sides of Kambara. The east side is cooler and less humid than the west on account of the southeast trades. This may in part account for the greater energy and productivity in craftsmanship shown by the people of Undu and Tanggu compared to those of Tokalau and Lomatchi. During the hot season in Tokalau the temperature in my native hut, which had a sheet iron roof, averaged 90° F. at seven in the morning and 102° at two in the afternoon.

123 In the heat of the day we frequently worked under a
514 pavilion roofed with plaited coconut leaves, near the beach,
[343] in the hope of catching whatever slight breeze might be playing along the shore. There was considerable amusement over selection of a site for this pavilion. During the first weeks in Tokalau I chose the coolest spot along the beach and requested that the pavilion be built there. Located some distance from the village, the place was sheltered by palms and brush. At this time I still had the naive notion that I could arrange a little privacy for interviews with informants who frequently hesitate to speak in the presence of others, and also for the few precious leisure hours I had to enjoy this "South

Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village 123
headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began 514
preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented
path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said.
I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly
confided that the lovely spot was used as the village
privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village
is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the
government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil
sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but
are as yet rarely used.

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neighboring 136
islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are 513
very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga
each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in
the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which
appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep
in four temporary huts which have been built on the table
top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in
diameter.

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara 136
had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the 773
kekeo, a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at
Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef.
Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While
lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard
the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful
music I heard last night?" he asked the god of Kambara
next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of
Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the
people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound,"
said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes,"
said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the
kekeo, the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of
Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully
had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket,
which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god
of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm
of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been
tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the
people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered.
Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern
islands since its introduction from South America in recent
times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it
conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet
potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and
other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between
harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisher-
folk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful
is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically
no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and
other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy.
No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a
lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a
turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch
as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding,
netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the
gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs,
but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages 262
each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten 231
frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times.

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue 224
doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the [136]
natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms [656]
and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were
ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which [231]
must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet.

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices 222
under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they [262]
are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp.

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally 231
a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in 262
search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only.

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola*, a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down
a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 The most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

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[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 130.

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Ochrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church.
To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is
shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends
with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when
available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women,
but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified
European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both
men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear
old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
[142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people,
but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands.
These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they
reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the
usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are
not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is
held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of
wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a
western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling
it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy
that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not
stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or
hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The
unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up
their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they
are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but
they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost
black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [832]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-boned
type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general
the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs
of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are
stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding
breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing
they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and
angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian
Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

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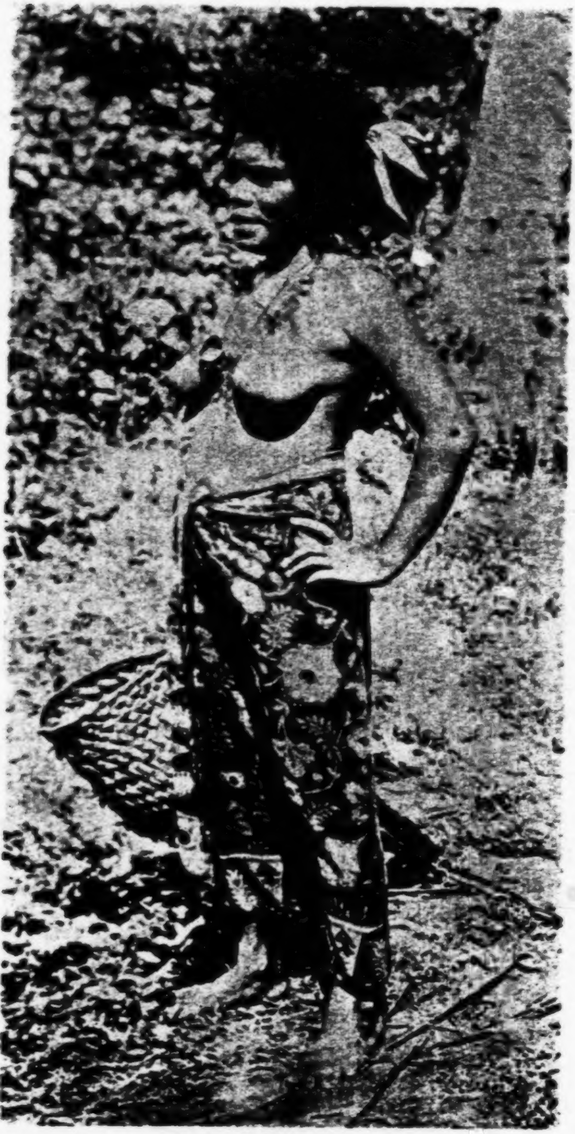
[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. [101] Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers
[301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village,
[622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



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A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[facing p. 14]

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies
in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men
tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don
[294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing
machines which found their way to the islands during the
prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have
[433] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account
of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the
local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged,
especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of
trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn
while working in the gardens.

296
312 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515
136 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the
lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the
personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and
children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before
the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of
sharks which are common in these waters. Children are
[868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark
menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about
in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art
[833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material
[531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272
is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276
water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291
waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304
The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197]
tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522]
jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [773]
not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

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[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[161] [6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise,* New York, 1938, p. 64.

stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in 174
eastern Fiji.

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: 133
those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east [101]
of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse 174
featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. [142]
They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple

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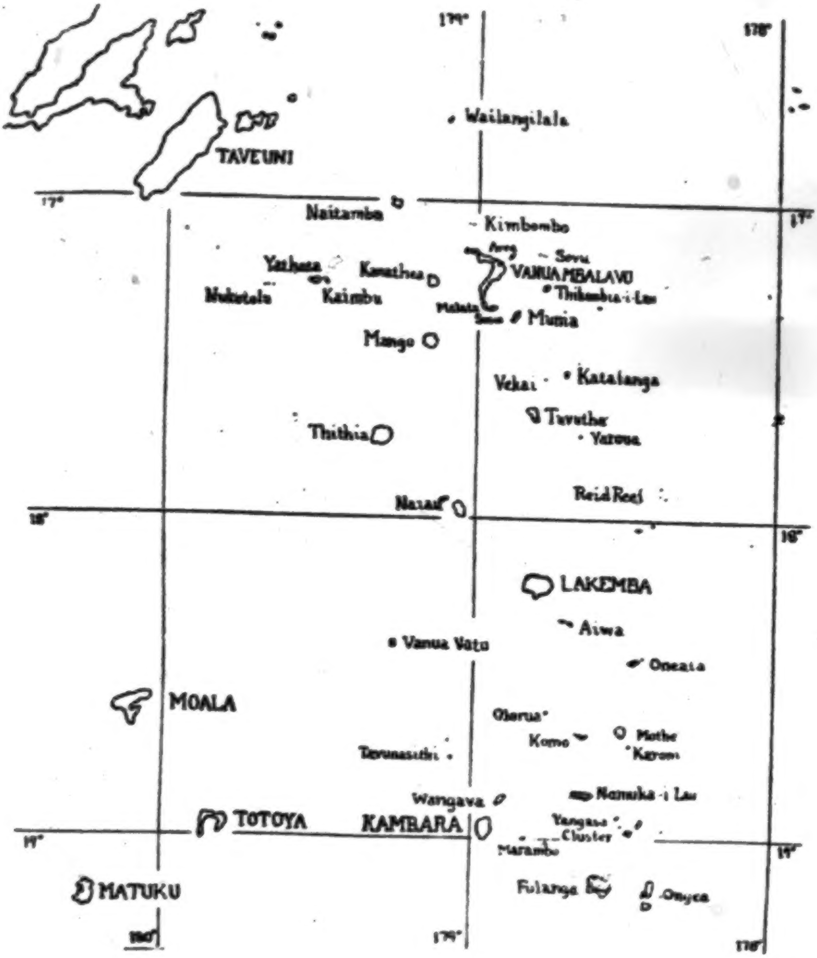
[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[text continues on page 21.—Analyst]


TAVEUNI
Wailangilala
179°
178°
17°
Naitamba
Kimbombo
Avea
Sovu
VANUA MBALAVU
Yathata
Kanathea
Nukutolu
Kaimbu
Thikombia-i-Lau
Malata
Susui
Munia
Mango
Vekai
Katafanga
Tavutha
Yatoua
Thithia
Reid Reef
Navau
18°
LAKEMBA
Aiwa
Vanua Vatu
Oneata
MOALA
Olorua
Komo
Mothe
Karoni
Tavunasithi
Wangava
Namuka-i-Lau
TOTOYA
KAMBARA
Yangasa Cluster
Marambo
19°
Fulanga
Ongea
MATUKU
180°
179°
178°

SOUTHERN LAU ISLANDS, FIJI

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The 174 group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the “land people” are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage.

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought “light”, meaning a more elaborate culture, to the “darkness” of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the “land people”, and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the “chief group” or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on “mana”, that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hardwood [172] and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today.

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[10] The term “clan” is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our “family” or [614] bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 these defenses may be seen today. Their main weapons were bows, clubs, and spears. In the course of time they spread in the Lau group and established themselves on the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Mothe, as well as on Kambara.

There was a great deal of rivalry between the leaders of the upper class on the various islands. The influence of Kambara spread until the island held Namuka, Wangava (which was then inhabited), and Komo in tributary relationship, and also included Marambo and Tavunasithi among its possessions. Lakemba, the large fertile island in central Lau, also gained power. Finally, with the help of the Tongans who came to Lau from their homeland 400 miles eastward to build hardwood canoes, Lakemba held all the Lau islands south of Thithia in tributary relationship.

As the power of the chiefs expanded, their sacredness increased. Court etiquette and insignia became formalized and a court phraseology, still used today, developed. The person of the high chief was protected by strict tabus, and death was the penalty for infringement. Social ceremonial became more elaborate, and human sacrifice and cannibalism increased.

Social prestige, based not only on rank but also on personality, became the ultimate value. Rank by birth gave a man standing in society and defined his relations to others, but his success in life depended ultimately on personality. Even a high title, such as the headman of an important clan, did not descend automatically according to the Lauan rule of succession,[11] but was given to the man selected by the clan elders as qualifying not only on the basis of rank but also on the basis of personality.

There were two main channels for acquiring prestige. The first and by far the most important was success in the gruesome petty wars which ravaged the group. A war hero received immediate popular acclaim. He received a high

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[611] [11] In Lau a title descends from the first son to his brothers in order of seniority throughout the generation and thence to the first son of the first son. This system is called Polynesian primogeniture.

status[12] in the community and this status was inherited by his offspring in the form of rank. In time he was elevated to the rank of an ancestor god. The second main channel for acquiring prestige was the giving away of wealth. Although the largest quantities of wealth were accumulated and distributed by the chiefs, anyone could gain social prestige through giving. Since the abolition of warfare due to western influence this method of acquiring prestige has received great emphasis and the overpowering drive for prestige based on distribution of wealth has given the Lauan cultural set-up the competitive, materialistic slant which is so strong today.

Wealth in the chiefdom of Lakemba came mainly from the islands of southern Lau. The sporadic distribution of important natural resources such as hardwood, the paper mulberry, certain fine types of pandanus, rare shellfish, and the sea turtle, combined with the scarcity of good garden land in the limestone islands, were factors which contributed toward the development of craftsmanship and industrial specialization in the southern islands. Based on these supplementary natural resources, a lively inter-island trade developed. The limestone islands which lacked garden land exchanged canoes, woodwork, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil for food from the fertile volcanic islands. These were the most important articles of exchange in Lau. After the coming of the upper class, industry was organized under hereditary specialists, and a high degree of skill developed. When political power was concentrated at Lakemba, products from the southern islands were paid to the high chief as tribute. They found their way through a system of ceremonial exchange to Tonga and to Fiji proper, and the islands of southern Lau became famous throughout the area for the excellence of their craftsmanship.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when the first historical records on Lau appeared, Tongan sailors had been

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[12] The term "status" is used in this study to designate social position which is acquired and not inherited. The term "rank" is used to designate social position which is inherited.

174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 197 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself 175
master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu.

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began 175
to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and 648
wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with 439
foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji.

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[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

115 The effect of the Tongans upon the Lauan physical type and language has been noted. Tongan influence is also marked in Lauan social life and technology.[14]

We have seen how the simple culture of the aborigines, the highly organized culture of the immigrants from Viti Levu on the west, and the influence from Tonga on the east met in the Lau islands. Conditioned by the natural setting of this island world, these divers strains fused into a unique form. The combination of social organization, economic life, technology, and outlook on life, found in Lau at the beginning of contact with western civilization, we call native Lauan culture. This native culture has been altered considerably in recent times by the influence of western civilization.

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117 [14] The Lauan concept of rank based on ancestor worship, and their interest in the secular side of life were elaborated. Many Tongan traits are widespread in Lau today and create the impression that the Tongan influence in the group is very extensive and significant. For instance, graceful Tongan oval houses with Gothic-arched gable roofs have entirely superseded Lauan rectangular dwellings. The Tongan method of joining barkcloth by pasting small strips together to form long sheets, and ornamenting them by rubbing dye over designs raised on tablets is used daily. Tongan influence on the Lauan culture was checked by the withdrawal of Tongan power and the penetration of European civilization before it had been thoroughly assimilated.

CHAPTER II

HOW A FIJIAN GROWS UP

A FIJIAN IS BORN

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve, 539
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana . . .

What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
The fruit is falling to the ground . . .

From an ancient fan dance, Kambara.

HOW DOES an infant born on one of these islands 000 today grow up into a Lauan? What influences condition his development? How is he inducted into the social group? Since one cannot understand an individual without knowing his background, this chapter will be devoted to the birth, growth, and development of a Lauan into adulthood as this process takes place today in the southern islands.

Like most pre-literate peoples the Fijians in the past had 871 no very formal system of education. Children learned by [861] imitation, play, experiment, and apprenticeship, to adjust themselves to their particular natural and social environment. There has been little essential change in the process of growing up in Lau today. Children still learn chiefly by imitation and experiment. They are, however, required to attend the village school which was introduced by the missionaries. Here they are taught to read and write the Mbauan language and to do simple arithmetic by a native pastor-teacher trained in a mission school, or by a village teacher trained in a government school. The system of native education introduced by

871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the
593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the
contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the
ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular
attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking
family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative
of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary
repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention
of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and
birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially
repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents
cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are
regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life,
and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the
birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she deter-
mines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the
breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately con-
cerned with the problem of finding her some special food,
for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for
raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving
a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month,
843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small
571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything 571 in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is 843 marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body [386] with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are [302] present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do not know why it is done. Four days later the women go fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first 100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from [783] any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse, nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut [302] her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called *kunekune*. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast. Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first pregnancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth, both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the withdrawal practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 The natives say that abortion is common among unmarried girls on islands like Mothe where standards of morality are lax. According to informants, it is accomplished between the second and fifth months. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion of a blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as [424] midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife determines by touch whether the unborn child is correctly placed. 844 If not she manipulates it by massage into the proper position at the beginning of labor.

In a normal delivery the woman in labor sits with legs apart and knees slightly bent on a flat stone covered with barkcloth. She supports herself by propping her arms against the mat behind her, and she is held from behind by one of the attendant women. The midwife sits in front of her and slowly rubs her abdomen. If the delivery is difficult the 845 woman lies on her back. In cases of prolonged labor a medicine woman known for her skill and success in midwifery is called in from the village or from a neighboring village. She takes charge of the delivery and administers her own brand of medicine.

A difficult birth or subsequent complications are believed to be the result of broken tabus on the part of the mother or father. It is usually assumed by the men of the husband's clan that his wife has committed adultery. Instead of consolation, therefore, she receives reproaches from her husband's male relatives. The women, on the other hand, are sympathetic for they all agree that adultery does not influence the process of birth.

The midwife catches the infant as he emerges. If he is short 844 of breath she blows water from her mouth into his face, or she gives a cup of water to the mother and massages the umbilical cord gently with thumb and index finger. If the mother is faint the midwife gives her "medicine to restore her breath", made according to her private recipe. When the child is breathing regularly the umbilical cord is cut by the mother's mother or the midwife. This was formerly done with a shell or a bamboo knife. The method, introduced by [177] the government, of cutting the cord with a pair of scissors and tying it with a piece of string, is used occasionally. An old Fulanga woman thinks that the modern method of tying the cord is injurious because the bad blood cannot flow away. As

844 soon as the child is born the mother is given a second drink of medicine to bring forth the afterbirth. If it does not appear the mother's abdomen is pressed and the cord is pulled.

The newborn infant is held over a bowl of luke warm water and washed by the midwife or the grandmother. He is rubbed with powdered mangrove root. He is wrapped in white barkcloth so that only his face is exposed, and is held by the grandmother until he falls asleep. A child's bed, composed of a pile of baby mats and soft barkcloth, is prepared. Then the infant is placed "on the mat", that is, he is put on the pile.

846 After the delivery, while still sitting on the stone, the mother is washed with fresh water. Then she lies down on a new mat. She is rubbed with powdered mangrove root and covered with a sheet of barkcloth. She does not bathe in the sea for four days and remains quiet from five to ten days. She eats the roasted flesh of ripe coconut. The natives say she must not eat the flesh from the pointed end, however, because that flesh will poke into her stomach and cause pain. She drinks much coconut milk, but the pointed end of the nut must first be taken off, otherwise the baby will vomit. Also she must not eat salt.

853 Until the mother's milk appears the baby is usually fed roasted ripe coconut flesh. The flesh is chewed by the grandmother or the mother and spat into a piece of white barkcloth. The wad is dipped in warm water and given to the infant to suck. Babies are also fed the juice of sugar cane. Warm powdered mangrove root is applied to the breasts of a woman confined for the first time, to facilitate the flow of milk.

844 The afterbirth and cord are wrapped in the piece of barkcloth on which the birth took place, and buried by the husband or the midwife at the threshold of a door of the house. According to an old woman of Kambara, this is to give the child "good breath". A woman of Fulanga said it was so buried to be stepped upon but she did not know why.

000 If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother

If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness.
Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went [775]
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent [837]
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second
day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether
boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent
child. The kin of both father and mother provide and
prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for
subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth
[554] feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the
feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a
[848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the
mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure
sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the
garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close
relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth
in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for
the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house.
No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant
(called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A
hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over
the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the
child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the
navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung
on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part
of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have
diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer
than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father
throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and
frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish
there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first
birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but
if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the
child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent
offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is
gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu
and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-e.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 FOR the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls [462] of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

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[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves 854 462 from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother 854 rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, 853 which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The 862 weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not [157] observe any child sucking his thumb.

854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female
relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He
becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light,
and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks.
As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is
placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and
responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother,
[857] especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and
carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and
856 development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives
who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to
crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to
stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where
a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing
position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this
position for some time. This is done almost every day until
he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more in-
dependence. He spends more time with his relatives apart
from his mother and with the children of his own age group.
Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns
toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grand-
parents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the
854 pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for
603 he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him
from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother, both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important 854 person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and 593 begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor.

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between 864 a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the 854 community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later [593] becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest.

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father 593 contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. 854 Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 562

593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as
does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried
a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing
from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to
defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

One 855

informant said that children are occasionally burned on the arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. [866] I was also told that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk, is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are laid. 869 Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867 the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his 867 157 relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

867 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and
157 the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have
857 no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out
524 for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to
[776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the
534 rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

/

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that
is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582]
his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

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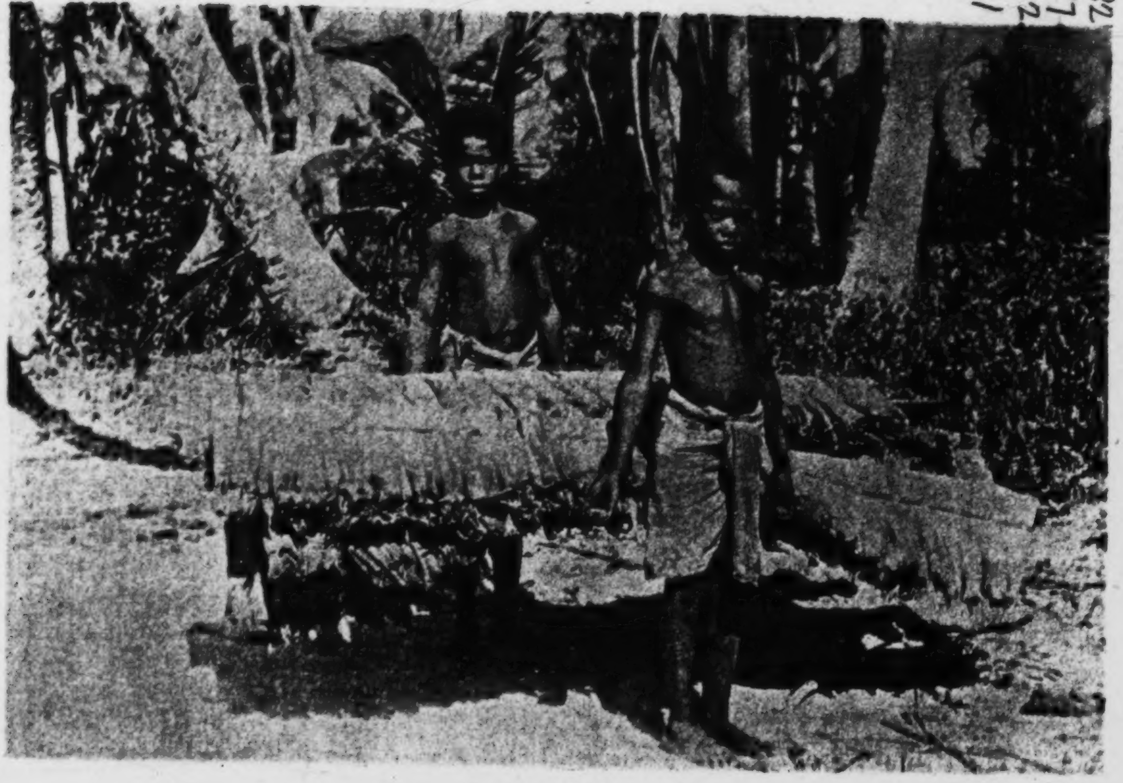
[facing p. 44]



Boys at Work

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

539
BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen
years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased,
tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
[578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi′-lo), and a *pilo*
he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers—the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emotional
[838] outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos.* Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult
adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow
growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage
[852] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For-
[304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the
age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she
grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere-
[881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation
receives no formal recognition.

000 When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl

When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 857
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in 868
and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

Up to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid 858
to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is 864

858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of 864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence [838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 [585] From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 178 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means
of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men
from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening
my house would suddenly become crowded with young
people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of
guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old
men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill.
One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on
his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man
instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house
and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were
with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and
make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a
go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he
will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called ***ngande***, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If
he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially
condemned practise called ***ndarandara***. He enters the house
of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by
stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who
was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover,
entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping.
He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried
loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and
called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

836 839 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 833 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou ngguwuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

The betrothal proceeds as follows. Having picked a suitable 584 mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with his clan. If the match is approved he collects whales' teeth, mats, barkcloth, and other property from his relatives. Several men of the clan present a formal proposal, accompanied by the property, to the girl's relatives. The proposal is considered by the girl's clan, which sends a formal answer on the following day. Both the proposal and the answer are frequently in written form today, since many Lauans can read and write the [212] Mbauan dialect. A piece of paper and pencil are used. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called by a term which means spouse (*watchi*). Further gifts of property and food are made at intervals to the girl's father by the boy's father.

The natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. However, if the young people do not care to marry, either one may break the engagement. In such a case the original gift of whales' teeth and property presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan, or its equivalent, is returned. However, the food and property, amounting to considerable value, which her relatives from time to time have received from him, are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently the boy would like to free himself of the obligation to marry his betrothed. Just as the tabu on a man's sisters and female parallel cousins stimulates his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins, especially his betrothed, renders them less desirable. However, he is loath to break his engagement, for if he does so his father and his father's brothers will be very angry because they will lose so much property.

On account of the surplus of women in southern Lau a 581 man can easily secure a wife. If he does not marry his cross 883 cousin he chooses a mate from the many eligible girls on his island or on another. However, a young man is usually reluctant to marry and settle down. After his initiation, life

883 becomes rather pleasant. He is accepted as a man in the
581 community, but he avoids the full responsibility of an adult. Although he sleeps in a men's house he is still a member of his father's household, cultivates his father's lands, and contributes to the daily supply and preparation of food for his father's earth oven. He participates in the ceremonies and games of his age group, spears fish, and sails on trading expeditions. He is sought after by the young women of the community among whom, with the exception of the group tabu to him, he is free to make conquests. The more numerous his affairs the greater he is desired by women. If he should have a
[848] bastard or two, the girl's father will care for the child. When he marries, however, he must accept the responsibilities of an adult; found his own household, work his own garden, and support his family.

A girl, on the other hand, is eager to marry. She is interested in securing a good husband—one who is a dependable provider and a strong man, physically and mentally—for her well-being and her position in the community will depend on her husband. Moreover, she anticipates a more satisfactory sex life after marriage. Once betrothed, a girl rarely breaks an engagement, but waits until the young man is ready to marry.

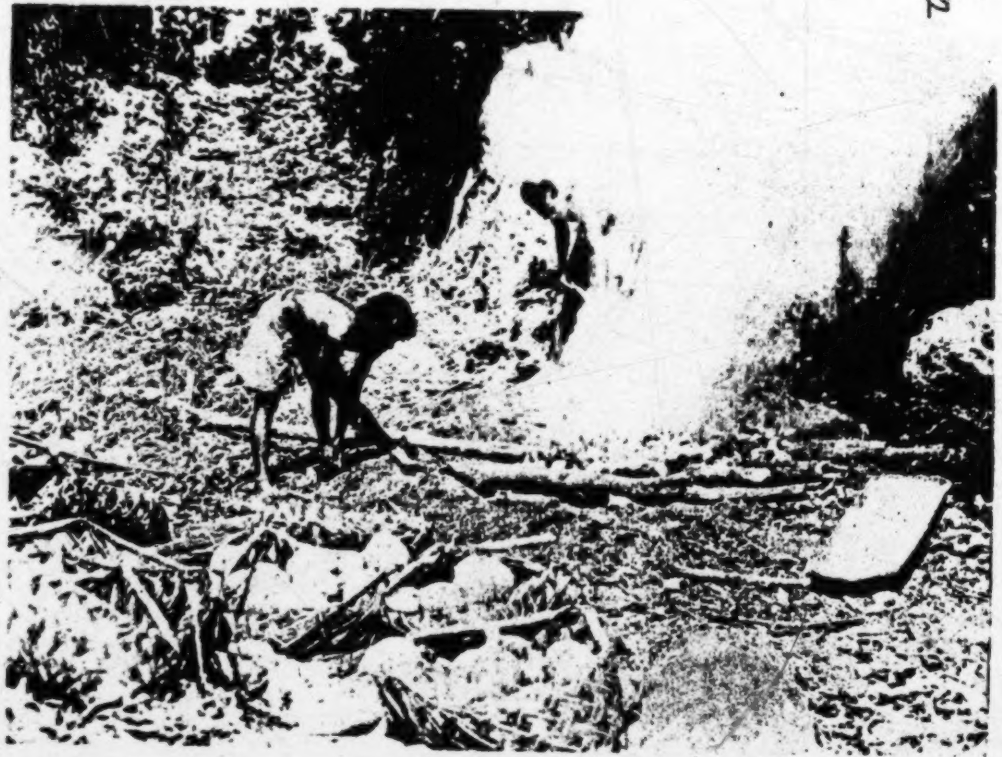
584 By the time a young man is about 25 years old his father
583 and his clan, whose interests still lie in the preservation of the sacred clan "mana", exert pressure, forcing him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed, who is between 18 and 25 years old, or he breaks with her and becomes engaged to another girl. After he has secured her consent he informs his father, and the matter is discussed by the elders of his clan. If they approve of the match a formal proposal is made. If the betrothal is sanctioned by the girl's clan an engagement feast is prepared and presented by the young man's clan to the girl's clan. On the other hand, if the match is not sanctioned, the couple

occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the 584
end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to 583
take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married.
In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it
was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a
young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the
bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their
relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat
abated. At first they are berated in the village, but
gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village
they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may
or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the 585
status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and 614
ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social 554
status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other
in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however
the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the
larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets
the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest
season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

[Facing p.54]



THE WEDDING FEAST

Young men are building a fire to heat the stones in an earth oven pit. Wrapped food will be placed on the hot stones, covered with earth and steamed.

614
505 of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property
554 from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.

614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central
[614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morinda citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

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[287] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye
[531] over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

585

house the bride left her outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and returned in her under-garment, a *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth, to her house. The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times. Afterwards the gifts received by the groom were divided among his relatives. Those received by the bride were sent to her relatives in Vatoa. The young couple received no share of the wedding presents.

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the important task of sharing the wedding feast. Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the headquarters of the groom and that of the bride, and the food was placed on these leaves. It was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. The food was then divided by five youths under the direction of the oldest man of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups and most of the visitors, carrying their shares of the feast, departed for home.

In the evening the near relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's headquarters for the "eating together" feast. This feast symbolizes the marriage. Each side provides one basket of food. The bride and groom are dressed in outer ceremonial garments of barkcloth. The sister of the girl takes one mouthful of food from the girl's basket in her fingers and feeds it to the young man. Then the sister of the man takes one mouthful of food from the man's basket and feeds it to the girl. The baskets of food are exchanged between the inter-marrying clans. The married couple remove their outer barkcloth garments. That worn by the groom is given to the girl's side, while that worn by the girl is given to the groom's side. The "eating together" feast ended the wedding ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Usually, however, after the "eating together" feast a "happy night" is held in the house of the groom. The young people

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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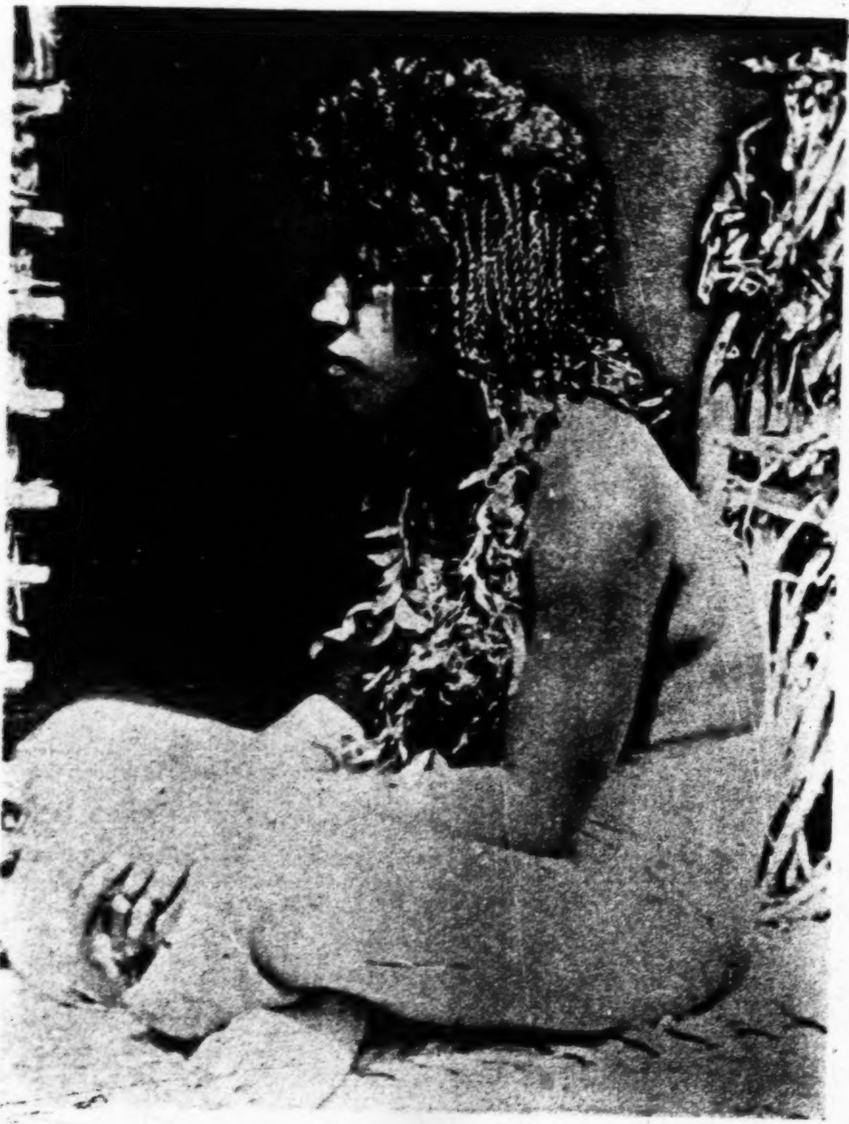

Virgin Locks

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

[Facing p. 58]

585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 302 [614] [606] If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the young couple. [515] The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

585 feast which is provided and prepared by the groom's clan on the same day and is eaten by the whole village. This ends the [885] wedding rites. They mark the acceptance of both the young man and the young woman as full adult members of the community.

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 **GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND**

> *Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,*
> *Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,*
> *Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata*
> *Laki kele sara i matamatana.*
>
> Floating stones, the fruits of light,
> Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
> Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
> About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.
>
> *Ancient club dance, Fiji.*

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a
621 hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected
178 by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

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[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which 614
become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial 621
government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked 178
clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle 648
of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces.[18]
648 These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each
622 district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

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[101] [18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

He is the head of the village assembly in which all important 622
affairs of the village are discussed.

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by 634
the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials.

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son 634
of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, 177
the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava.* His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to

634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the
old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko*,
554 the *mbuli*, and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of
roko in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli*, on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara*. However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) 554
of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in 634
order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. /77
Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuliship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive [157]
and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

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[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the
island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district
commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day
individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of
about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any 634
physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting 614
over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and 554
respected on the island. He had a keen and independent 159
mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly
manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always
accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both 644
in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at 159
Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan [191]
languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava,
the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed
in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has [272]
been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a [276]
stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar
with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble
youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew
him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he [826]
attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the
complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only
when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank
in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly
flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of
the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For
instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's
wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A
chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the
town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he
dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set 159
him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him
the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs
of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

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[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had
159 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created
558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was
622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,*
178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has
756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he
[774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world.
[187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows
554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing
622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554
of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622
every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a
titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is
clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614]
clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the
chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of
Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602]
the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back,
whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a
common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays 622
an important part in village affairs. The village headman is
responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations
which provide for the communal performance of all activities
considered beneficial to the community. These activities
include gardening, village planning, house building and
sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and
the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive
duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies
to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the 622
old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177
sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

622 177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648 631 178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order 631 648 to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The 178 success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

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[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua 539
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

Social life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code 576 of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is 626 learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had [558] lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

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[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

Offenses against the native regulations, which control such 648
aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house 692
building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony.

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which [625]
consists of over two hundred police officers divided into 696
twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in 554
southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A

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[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

696 554 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, however. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 626 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 673 602 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau, came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to 691 602
complain about a relative, and when the district court met the 673
Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of 602
soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man 685
may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his 554
relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his 431
request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

BLOOD AND SOIL

Nonggui tau,
Solia nonggu yau.

My friend.
Give me some property.[27]

423 IN LAU the basic landowning unit is the clan. The land is divided into three classes: garden land, village land, and bush. The natives say that according to the pre-Tongan system of tenure in Lau each hamlet owned a part of each class of land. This system is found on the island of Mothe, which is divided into sections shaped like pieces of pie, each containing bush, garden, and village land. Each section was formerly owned and occupied by a hamlet and is still owned by the same group, which is now a clan in one of the two villages of the island. After the Tongan conquest, according to informants, on some islands clan titles were established to the garden and village land only and the bush was considered free. The post-Tongan system is found on the island of Kambara.

423
648 One of the most important policies of the British administration in Fiji has been the protection of native land ownership. Before annexation, white settlers in Fiji had acquired large areas of land (about 414,615 acres) from the native chiefs, but since 1875 practically all sale of native land, except to the government for specific purposes, has been prohibited. Tenure has been granted only by leaseholds, which may extend up to 99 years for agricultural purposes. In 1936 only about one-fifth (863,211 acres) of the total area of the colony (4,523,620 acres) had been alienated by sales and leases.[28]

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[27] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 118.
[28] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 70.

Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on 423
the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native 648
lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs [647]
of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in 423
southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to 439
encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade [427]
stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries 423
of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

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[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

423 754 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 431 621 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 578 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan 423 enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island 578 and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. 423 Native retention of ancestral lands has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in [161] the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from 423 the modern western economic system. He is economically 464 independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

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[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in southern Lau. [167]

464 [484] [574] As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources—such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

461 178 Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to 461 improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the 178 population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government 427 policy of protection of native lands has made possible the 471 development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the 166 rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern 423 of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet 471 the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

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[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

423 471 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo,*
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 261 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

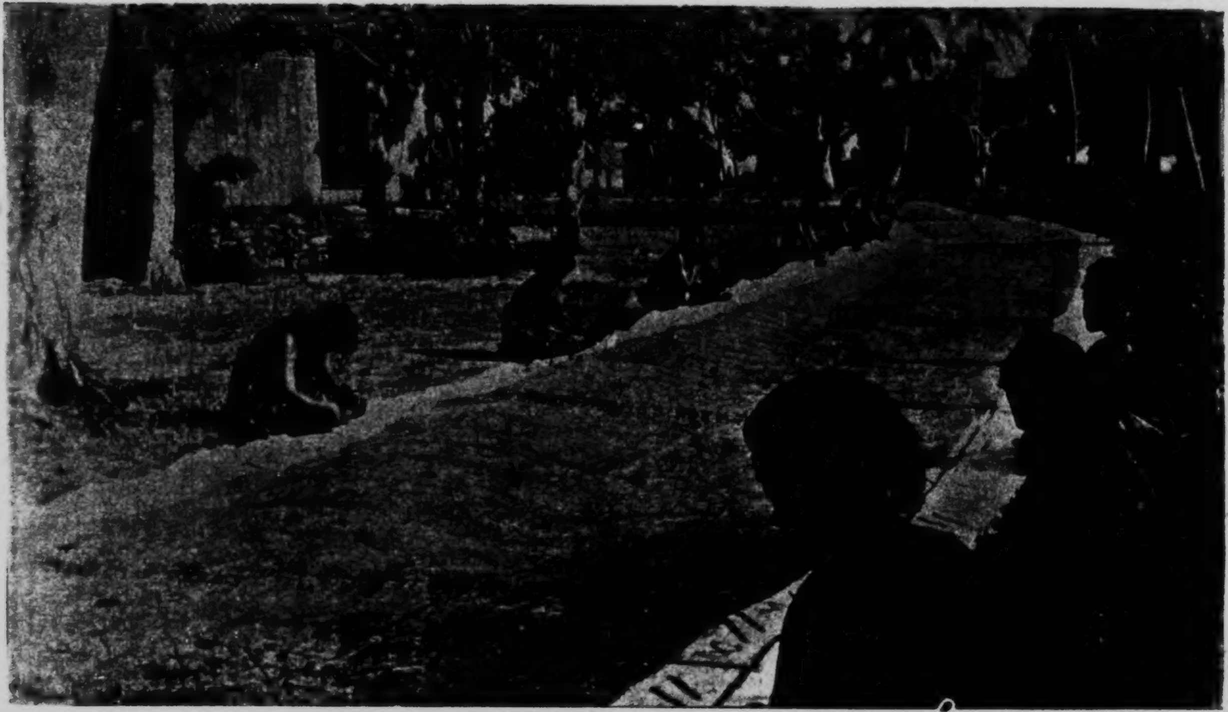
[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241]
before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177]
times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native
garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222
products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262
informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone
islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*)
was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits,
nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231]
supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225]
and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439
food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463
exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476
modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614
whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

766
516

[facing p. 84]



DEATH OF THE HIGH CHIEF

The route of the funeral procession is carpeted with long strips of tribute barkcloth and bordered by seated women of high rank.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their
labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented
[177] to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

556 431 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redistribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 431 585 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 436 Under the old native system there was no definite standard by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can
be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however,
serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance
imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be
compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the
economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose
gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal
and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party
seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material
loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not
permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in
order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the
far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long
run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted
individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not
only because of his small bones and relatively short stature
but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such
as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the
natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father
was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and
no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the
clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but
the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched
him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262]
trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151]
a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD 539

> *Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,*
> *Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.*
>
> Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
> And prompts you greedily to aim at all.
>
> *Fijian proverb.*[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

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[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 276 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they [778] are in constant danger of being filched. Once while exploring a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and 177
feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. 797
Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, 805
and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each 797
member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life con- 461
flicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was 439
but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of 431
western economy into the group. Another was the introduc- 656
tion of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

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[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of [651]
£1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect 439 on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly 245 suited to the growth of coconuts.

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs [651] exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations. 439

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect 178 on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were 245

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[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this
period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
464 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers
177 of young men from the southern islands left their villages
under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite
of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

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[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39] 439 245 [435]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java. [654]

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily 439 178 434

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[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

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[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required 245
for construction has also been introduced, but the natives 439
prefer the more finished sawn timber type.

The government is also stimulating the copra industry [654]
among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of
coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect 178
on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of 245
western influence depends to a large extent on the market 439
demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment.

The most significant effect of the introduction of western 178
economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing 182
of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world.

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[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vuai levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 Aside from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

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[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously. 431
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It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment. 554

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable 000

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[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

000 environment on industry are furnished by the pot-making and trading natives of the small infertile islands of Tubetube and Teste in the same region.[45]

I believe that far more valuable to the culture as a whole and to the individuals within it would be a policy of encouraging creative production and economic self-reliance. By this I do not mean production of copra or other commercially valuable trade goods to be exported, although a certain amount of foreign trade may be beneficial since the natives will probably be more or less in contact with the outside world in the future and will have to become accustomed to it. I mean production of food and craft articles to be exchanged ceremonially between native groups and islands.

How can production and exchange be encouraged? First, by developing the available food resources in order not only to provide for daily necessities but also to accumulate a surplus for storage by the native method of fermentation; second, by stimulating native craftsmanship based on the available natural resources; third, by lifting those regulations which tend to inhibit native economic activity and to discourage healthy ceremonial exchange, and by encouraging inter-island trade especially through ceremonial exchanges between related villages.

Let us first take the problem of food resources. Since practically all the available garden land on the famine islands is in use we cannot hope to increase production by enlarging the area under cultivation unless food plants which will grow on land now forested are imported. An increase in the yield from the limited amount of garden land can be expected, however, by improving methods of cultivation and by stimulating interest in gardening. At present, before planting, the surface of the land is barely scratched with a wooden digging stick or imported hoe, and no fertilizer is used.[46] Even without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing 000 and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of [241] manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to [783] win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[46] For details concerning gardening technics see "Subsistence" (by B. Tueting) in L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island 241 holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called 624 "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage [184] in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

[Facing p. 100]

FOOD PRESERVED BY FERMENTATION

Tapioca, which has been allowed to ferment, is being prepared for the earth oven in the Fulanga lagoon.

Fulanga

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 241 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 226 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai,* which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

137 grow if they were planted, and even on islands where under the post-Tongan system of land tenure the bush is free, the natives still know and respect ancient clan claims to bush land. Hence wild yams planted by a member of one clan would probably be unmolested by other clans.

136 A very important source of meat now neglected is the wild fowl which abounds in the jungle. Little effort would be required to teach the natives adequate trapping and snaring methods so that this food would be available even without the use of firearms.

231 Another important source of food now neglected is domestic animals, such as chickens and pigs. Fulanga, the island with the poorest food resources in Lau, is outstanding for its chicken raising. By means of regular feeding and proper housing in chicken coops, hundreds of chickens are raised for local consumption and for export to other islands in exchange for vegetable food. There is no reason why other famine islands such as Kambara, if sufficiently stimulated and encouraged, cannot follow Fulanga's example in this respect. The main fodder for both chickens and pigs is coconut meat, of which there is an over-production in Lau since the copra slump. Hence there is no problem of fodder for animals reducing the island food supply.

The main consideration in the raising of domestic animals is labor. The consumption of pigs has decreased markedly since the regulation that pigs must be kept outside the village in pens has been enforced. Under present conditions the Lauans lack the energy to feed these domestic animals. A little encouragement in breeding, and the infusion of new life into the economic system by means of ceremonial exchanges involving feasts might supply the necessary stimulus to increase production. Moreover, the government could greatly aid the natives in poultry raising by importing new stock to improve the breeds. This is even more important in regard to pigs than to chickens. The Lauan pigs are of the long

231 legged, razor backed Oceanic type which could undoubtedly be improved by the infusion of new blood.

322 335 We have considered some methods by which the available food resources may be developed. Let us turn to native craftsmanship. The crafts for which southern Lau has been famous are canoe building, woodwork, and the making of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil. All these crafts are very much alive in Lau today, but an increase in the quantity and to some extent also the quality of production would not only add zest to the economic life but would greatly benefit the individual craftsman. The famine islands have an exclusive monopoly on woodcrafts dependent on greenheart because this hardwood grows well nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. The making of canoes is particularly important because of the communal effort and series of feasts which mark each step in the process, and also because canoes provide the transportation which makes native inter-island trade possible. The woodcrafts are controlled by hereditary carpenters who have learned their skill from relatives in their hereditary carpenter clans. On Kambara, the main woodcraft island, there are two such carpenter clans (called Matai Lemaki and Matai Sau), each with its own history, traditions, and standards of craftsmanship. These clans are headed by able and intelligent men, Tatchini of Tanggu and Tandu of Undu. If these two master craftsmen would cooperate by urging more youths to learn the craft, by raising the standards of workmanship which have slumped in recent years, and by encouraging pride in individual creation, the woodcrafts on Kambara would be stimulated.

000 However, still more important to the economic life would be the increased production of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil, which are valuable articles of native trade made by the women. The quality of these articles from southern Lau, especially barkcloth, is still high, and they are in demand for every large ceremonial exchange honoring a high chief in Fiji. In recent years the women of Lau have had far less work than

the men. This is due to an unequal division of labor between 000
the sexes—since the women no longer produce these craft articles in quantity—and to an unbalanced sex ratio, since the females outnumber the males. Increased production of women's craft articles, by keeping the women from idly sitting about the kitchen houses and gossiping a great deal of the time, would strengthen the morale of the whole community. Under the present organization this could be accomplished by stimulating inter-island communal exchange, which would mean heavier demands upon the women of each clan. Young girls should be encouraged to learn the complicated technic of barkcloth making, and the few women who are specialists in the finest stenciled type (called *ngatu vaka Vitchi*) should be urged to teach their art and to encourage originality in their pupils. The organization of the barkcloth craft into guilds, 287
as on Namuka, Mothe, and Lakemba, should be encouraged [184]
on other islands where the paper mulberry is available, such as Kambara.

The women of Namuka are famed throughout Fiji for their barkcloth. They are organized into a barkcloth makers' guild headed by Apikale, wife of Anitelu, the *mbuli Kambara*. She receives orders for barkcloth to be exported, especially to the island of Lakemba, in exchange for other trade articles, and she regulates the work and the output. The guild members are divided into three groups which work together, one for old women, one for middle-aged women, and one for young women. All three groups use the guild barkcloth makers' workhouse on the edge of the village for the parts of the process requiring communal labor.

Most important of all, however, in building up native 000
economy is not only to remove all restrictions, but actively to stimulate inter-island trade based upon the supplementary natural resources and specialized industries of the islands of limestone and those of volcanic formation. The *solevu* type of ceremonial exchange between villages located on islands

000 with supplementary resources gives zest and self-sufficiency to native life. It encourages not only the economic independence and stability of the natives through economic competition, but also their sense of well-being and contentment through breaking the monotony of daily life with travel, feasts, dancing contests, and sociability.

If the above mentioned program were carried out in southern Lau the standard of living, now at subsistence level, might be raised within the natural limits of the environment, and the resulting healthy and independent economic life could serve as a firm basis for the new cultural adjustment.

CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A.. ..munduo! 539

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by 776 ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared.

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one 774 good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air.

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

774 to a depth of half-an-inch from walking barefoot. At sundown, Ravu had not returned, and we were worried, for night descends early in the shadowy tropical jungle. When the last rays of the setting sun still cast a red glow over the village, the forest is already in darkness. We called a few natives together and, armed with lanterns and flashlights, set out to look for him. The searching party, in a long line, followed the narrow path up the steep cliff and into the dense jungle.

We shouted at intervals but there was no response. Finally, from afar we heard a shot. Picking our way in the twilight off the rough path into the primeval forest, we followed the sound. Suddenly we came upon Ravu, his body shaking with fear, his face pale and terrified. When he saw us his expression changed to one of great relief. Finally he was able to tell his story.

For some time in the early afternoon he had looked for pigeons without seeing any. Suddenly he had come upon Wangga, a man from Tanggu. He told Wangga he was searching for fowl, and Wangga said: "I know where there are many. Come with me." So Ravu followed him. They walked a great distance through the pathless jungle and Ravu became very tired. But there were no fowl. Finally they reached cliffs which rim the island and drop abruptly into the sea. Wangga stood on the edge of a sheer precipice and called Ravu to join him, but Ravu was frightened and decided to turn back. His companion returned with him. When they were approaching the spot where they had met, Ravu heard our shouts. He fired a shot into the air and Wangga started to run away. Suddenly the man vanished. Then Ravu realized that it was Wangga's bad soul which had tried to lure him to death over the cliff. Ravu did not recover his composure until the following day.

577 As a motivating force, kindness and humanitarianism are still foreign to the Lauan. This was illustrated forcibly one

dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan [201]
signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Raramal"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular
bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance
was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the
clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
"One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself
793 and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . .
When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints 787
himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep 793
and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, 774
and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral 618
gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which 769
was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. 776
Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ĕ'), the great snake god of Viti 618
Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

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[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally
settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for
clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never
lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or
an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana*
maritima) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is 565 773
still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently [825]
from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the 775
inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a 565
jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the 797
nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula? 539
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

—*From the teachings of Navosavakandua*[48]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual 797
life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

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[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly
throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts
of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches,
built in the style of native houses, were established on each
island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like
Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became
pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities
Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this
day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive
readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and
accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a
native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added
to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage,
[272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inas-
much as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and
the exchange of property marked all important occasions in
Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary,
whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank,
now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest
177 of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture.
Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship.
However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the
other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state
[622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells,
a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of
fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue
woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by
[554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank.
He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth
who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of
the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a
pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim
is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in
the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the
spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the
service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the
182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor
631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of
ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and
broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law
and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on
personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs.
The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the
natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their
chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their
aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing
them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social
system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in
applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be
considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor
of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly
held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs,
native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power
575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and 178
in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai,* literally 575
meaning "offspring of the water").

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in 575
parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands.

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must 575
have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which 776
dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies.

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits 575
in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these 776
secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in cere- 782
monial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each

575 776 782 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently. Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work themselves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 575 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai.* There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

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[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

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[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.

[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

794 he worked for a European and evidently was deeply disturbed 668 by contact with western culture. While there, two of his ancestral gods appeared to him. Ndukumoi recognized them and was afraid, but they told him to heed their words and he would receive "mana" from them. The young man carried out their instructions and a new cult was revealed to him.

There is some difference of opinion concerning his teachings. Most accounts agree, however, that he upheld the Bible but maintained that Jehovah and Jesus Christ had been substituted for the two ancestral gods who appeared to him. He exhorted his followers to commit no sin and to pray to these two gods. They would be rewarded by eternal youth and immortality in the "red paradise" (*mburotu kula*). The sinful would be condemned to everlasting fire. He took the name of Navosavakandua (pronounced Na-vó-sa-vá-ka-en-dú-a, meaning "he who speaks but once"), the term applied to the colonial chief justice because there is no appeal against his decision. He re-named the seven days of the week, which had been introduced by the missionaries, and set aside the seventh as the holy sabbath when meetings were held in temples secretly dedicated to the "Immortality" cult. He selected priests and women to attend them and inaugurated ceremonies which were a combination of kava drinking, dances, prayers, the presentation of property, and military drill. He organized his followers under drill sergeants, *rokos,* and *mbulis,* in imitation of the native colonial officials.

Many miracles were ascribed to Navosavakandua. His doctrine spread quickly in northeastern Viti Levu, which at that time was far from the nearest government station. His prophecies created so much excitement and unrest that in 1878 he was banished to Lau. He returned to his province after four years and began his activities with even greater energy, with the result that the military aspect of the "Immortality" movement developed and spread over a wide area. The cult became distinctly hostile to the government and aimed at

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administra- 794
tion considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished 668
for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years.

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reac- 159
tionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact 157
with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah.

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

159 medicine and became pregnant. While she was with child 157 she had a vision that her unborn son would be a prophet and free the people of Fiji from foreign domination. She told the child of her dream when he was still young and died shortly after. At a government school in Viti Levu the boy was trained to be a village teacher. He learned a fair amount of English. During his youth he traveled in the Fiji group and also visited New Zealand.

When I knew Tarai he was about 28 years old, lighter skinned and smaller in bone structure and stature than the average Fijian. He looked like a half-caste, and since his father was pure Fijian, his mother must have had some European blood. His face was troubled, but his manner gentle. After many months he told me that as a youth he had begun to be visited in his dreams by his ancestor gods. They promised that if he would live a chaste life for seven years they would gradually reveal to him the truth about his people and give him "mana" to lead them to greatness. They said that Fiji had once been a powerful nation like Great Britain and had ruled the entire Pacific. Fiji was destined to reach these heights again, and if he carried out their instructions he was to be the leader. Tarai resolved to live a life of chastity, but in spite of his firm resolutions he failed again and again. However, the visions continued.

Meanwhile his father had remarried and returned to live on Kambara. He called for his eldest son to come home and help him cultivate his ancestral land, and Tarai returned as village teacher. He settled down and built himself a bachelor house. He was intelligent, industrious, and highly respected on the island, a good gardener and sailor. When I knew him his father was continually urging him to marry, for he had been betrothed for years to his cross cousin. Tarai delayed the wedding, however, and was still sure in his heart that if he carried out the instructions of his ancestors he would become a great leader. At the same time he felt that he

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara
Viti Levu OQ10

could not make the effort. After leaving Fiji, I received a L 159
letter from Tarai telling of his marriage. He proudly des- 157
cribed how his father had killed four pigs, and a great many
people had attended the ceremonies.

Some individuals, however, have been able to make an adjustment between the new and the old religions with the minimum of conflict. The life of old Moto of Undu, for instance, is tranquil. Moto was born shortly after Christianity had been introduced to Kambara. His father became a Christian, and Moto grew up to accept the new faith wholeheartedly. However, in spite of the injunction against speaking of the old gods, Moto learned something about them from his father. As he grew older he thought more and more about the changes that had taken place in his lifetime, the old Lauan customs and how they had been altered by the coming of Christianity and the British rule. At about the age of 90, when we knew him, he was able to free himself sufficiently from the mission yoke to tell us what he knew of the old religion. In the course of our discussion one day, he said: "You know, when I was young I thought that the 'way of the devil' (as the old religion is called) was very different from Christianity, but now that I am old I see little difference between them." This statement is significant for it represents one native's carefully thought out conclusions of a lifetime.

Gradually native myths and tales which harmonized the V
two religions were created and spread through the group. 177
The translation of a version of the creation of man, collected 773
in Viti Levu by Mr. Brewster in 1893, follows:[52] 539

"Formerly there were two gods, Jehovah and Ndengei (the great snake god of Viti Levu), and at one time they had a dispute. Ndengei said, 'Jehovah, pay obedience to me.' Jehovah replied, 'Ndengei, serve me. Do you not know that I am the supreme Chief and Lord of Heaven?' To this

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[52] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

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539 Ndengei replied, 'What, Jehovah, are you a god?' Then said
177 Jehovah, 'What, Ndengei are you god? What are you a god
773 of? If you are, make man.' Ndengei took earth and moulded and fashioned it into the likeness of a man. Then Jehovah said, 'Tell it to stand up,' and Ndengei said to the earth he had shaped, 'Earth, stand,' but the earthen form remained still and quiet.

"When Ndengei had finished his work he said, 'Jehovah, if thou art a god make man of this earth.' So Jehovah kneaded the earth and formed a man and then a woman. When he had finished fashioning both, Ndengei said, 'Tell them to stand up.' Then Jehovah thought, 'What shall I do to accomplish a living man? I will endow him with a soul and with breath.' So he stooped down and caused his spirit to enter the man first and afterwards the woman, and he breathed into them. Then Ndengei said once more, 'Tell them to stand up.' And Jehovah said to the two earthen forms, 'Stand up,' and they stood up.

"After that Jehovah said, 'Ndengei, what are you god of? If you are a god tell your earthen forms over there to stand up. Today you have seen me create man from earth only.'

"After that the human species multiplied and Jehovah drove Ndengei away. Then Jehovah said to his people, 'It is good that you should build a house, an extremely lofty one whose summit shall reach to heaven, of which it shall be the key and from which life immortal shall be given you.' Then they built the house and each was ordered to furnish it with the requisite articles at which they were skilled. They did so, and gave different names to the things which they gave and thus arose a diversity of languages. Then Jehovah told them to prepare the feast customary upon the completion of a house, and they made one of yams, taro, and plantains, which sprang from the place at which they were. Then said Jehovah to them, 'It is good that each of you should go your way into the world and fill the different lands.' So they went forth,

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Viti Levu OQ10

each taking yams, taro, and plantains, and some named them- V
selves after the particular kind of yams they took, and some 177
from the taro, and others after the plantains, each after the 539
things they took with them when they were sent forth by 773
the spirit (thus accounting for their plant totems), and the place from whence they departed was called Paradise. Then each dwelt in the land at which they arrived, and they settled down and multiplied . . . The common people arrived first and the chiefs followed later on."

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Viewing the change in retrospect we see that the missionaries 797
brought to Lau a foreign world view, which differed from 178
their own mainly in its emphasis on the significance of the spiritual life of the individual soul in the next world. The Lauans were opportunists interested in obtaining "mana" expressed in prestige in this world. Success meant honor to their clan and eventual deification. The "mana" concept of the Lauans provided the bridge between the two outlooks on life. By rejection of their own ancestral gods and acceptance of a foreign God as a "mana" giver, they believed they could more effectively attain their ends. The innovation produced profound changes in their culture, especially in the social structure. Most important of these was perhaps the shift in emphasis from clan rank based on supernatural sanctions, to individual status based on social sanctions.

CHAPTER VI

SORCERY AND SCIENCE

539 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,
Ka ulia na sivaro,
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka
Iri mbula, ra mbula,
Iri mate, ra mate,
Iri vakasanggalenggalo—
A iri mbula, ra mbula,
A iri mate, ra mate.

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding.
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

Ancient spear dance from Kambara.

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

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759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who 759
makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called 828
lialia) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession 753
of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the 776
"windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "wind- 753
women" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". 828
Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is 755
dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a 755
method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The 753
Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

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[824] [53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the 755
patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine 278
(called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57] 753

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor 755
spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a 783
patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. 755
Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after 753
a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily 755
worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen
money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly [674]
afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

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[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, [824]
shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He 753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The [751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

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[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the 753
husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59]

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health 755
if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be 774
captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely.

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal 754
swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery [753]

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[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 [824] The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 [764] According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

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[171] [60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757
The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278
is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is
today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752
sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842
scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278
a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757
The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753
superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

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[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

> *Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!*
> *Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!*
>
> Alas, my chief, alas!
> He has gone along the path and will never return!
>
> *Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.*

164
731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

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731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which 161
has continued to the present, with the exception of the in- 164
fluenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to 731
the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63]

The colonial government has been directly concerned with 168
the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts 744
to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64]

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 165
to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly 744
because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65]

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows:

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

[162]

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.

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Kambara

744 874 759 The expansion of the European medical staff in Fiji began in the late nineties, and today the Fiji medical service consists of sixteen medical officers under the control of the director of medical service. Their work in native health and sanitation control is assisted and supplemented in the country districts by sanitary inspectors, nurses, and by native medical practitioners trained at the central medical school in Suva. The former Fiji medical school founded in 1883 was replaced in 1928 by the central medical school which receives native medical students from Fiji as well as various island groups in the South Pacific. After successfully completing a four-year course[66] the students receive diplomas as native medical practitioners. These modern native doctors are attached to provincial hospitals and receiving stations. They have a high social prestige among the natives, and by interpreting modern hygiene and medical practices to their own people they bridge the wide gap between native custom and western science.

742 Medical work in Fiji has been greatly aided by the work of the Rockefeller Foundation, which has contributed funds both for the erection of hospitals and a training school and for experimental research in the control of infectious diseases.

744 Administrative health and medical work among the natives may be divided into three main phases: the control of infectious diseases, sanitation and housing, and child welfare.

The natives have developed some immunity against measles,
whooping cough, and chicken pox which, however, still raise
the infant mortality rate. Since 1911, lepers have been segre-
[743] gated on the island of Makongai which receives patients also
from New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook, Gilbert
and Ellice islands. A systematic campaign against yaws,
especially during 1929-31, and hookworm, especially since
1922, control of epidemic dysentery and the treatment of
ankylostomiasis have had marked results. Today, of infectious

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[66] The curriculum includes chemistry, physics, biology, anatomy, physiology, medicine, surgery, midwifery, and child care.

Today, of infectious
diseases, dysentery, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis take the highest death toll. 744 [165]

Great efforts have been made to improve the sanitation and housing in the native villages. Attention is placed especially on purification of the water supply and on soil sanitation through the installation of latrines. The village headman is responsible for the enforcement of regulations dealing with sanitation, and the building and spacing of sleeping and kitchen houses.

TABLE 1. INFANT MORTALITY AMONG FIJIANS 165

Year	Under 1 month	1 month to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Total
1929	111	379	281	771
1930	125	500	549	1,174
1931	107	267	251	625
1932	90	236	140	466
1933	88	244	174	506
1934	99	368	290	757
1935	99	462	358	919
1936	98	424	514	1,036

(Annual Reports, Fiji.)

One of the most important native health measures is the child welfare service initiated by the government in 1927. It has spread gradually through the colony until child welfare committees consisting of native mothers have been established in nearly every Fijian village. They are instructed in child care by the child welfare worker in charge of the district.[67] The child welfare service is laying a foundation for a higher standard of infant and maternal care. The results of the work can only be seen over a considerable period of time, since they may be counteracted by epidemics such as those of whooping cough, dysentery, and measles, which have increased the infant mortality in the last few years (see Table 1). 746

[67] Four trained European nurses and fourteen native nurses are engaged in this work. They are aided by district medical officers and native medical practitioners.

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Kambara

TABLE 2. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ELEVEN NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI, 1921-1936

		1921					1936						
Island	Village	Total population	Male	Female	No. of houses	Average number of occupants per house	Total population	Male	Female	No. of houses	Average number of occupants per house	Total population increase	Increase rate per 1,000
Kambara	Tokalau	109	48	61	19		127	55	72	19			
	Lomatchi	46	17	29	8		40	21	19	10			
	Tanggu	130	69	61	28		138	60	78	34			
	Undu	89	45	44	19		112	50	62	22			
Marambo*		8	1	7	1								
		382			75	5.09	417			85	4.91	35	92
Fulanga	Muanaithake	205	93	112	40		205	88	117	23			
	Muanaira	41	23	18	12		79	37	42	12			
	Naivindamu	64	34	30	12		106	55	51	16			
		310				4.38†	390			51	7.65	80	258
Ongea	Naithulaianga	101	56	45	21	4.81	105	51	54	29	3.62	4	40
Namuka	Nawatchia	216	113	103	53	4.08	269	123	146	52	5.17	53	245
Mothe	Nasau	187	105	82	51		206	106	100	50			
	Korotolu (formerly called Leva‡)	75	42	33	17		81	41	40	21			
		262			68	3.85	287			71	4.04	25	95
Total		1,271					1,468					197	154.99

Colony of Fiji, Census Reports, 1921, 1936.

* The inhabitants of Marambo moved to Kambara after 1921.

† Since the number of houses recorded for Muanaithake in the 1921 census is probably an error, I have reckoned the average number of occupants per house in Fulanga in 1921 on the basis of the other two villages.

‡ The inhabitants of Leva village moved to their present site after 1921 and named the new village Korotolu.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

744 Having reviewed the medical and health work being done in the colony and its effect upon the native population as a whole, let us turn to the specific region of southern Lau. These islands are perhaps the most isolated in all Fiji, and as we have seen are far from the nearest native medical practitioner, nurse, or hospital. The natives, therefore, have never had constant medical attention from doctors trained in modern medicine, and depend upon their native system of therapeutics for their daily needs. However, the government's systematic campaign for the improvement of native health has had a marked effect upon the natives of southern Lau. Since epidemics of infectious diseases have a tendency to spread throughout the colony their control has naturally reduced the death rate in the southern islands. Furthermore, medical officers visit each island at least once every year or two. They have organized the women into child welfare committees and instructed them in modern methods of child care. They inspect village sanitation and housing, and instruct the natives in hygiene and the village headmen in their duties as health administrators. However, housing conditions have not kept up with the population increase in Lau. The six islands studied show an average of 4.04 persons per sleeping house in 1921 and an average of 5.10 persons per sleeping house in 1936 (see Table 2), which is less, however, than the general average of 6.31 persons per sleeping house for the natives of the whole Fiji group in 1936.[68]

161 The population of the six islands studied in southern Lau has increased during the 15 year inter-census period (1921-35) at the rate of 154.99 per 1,000 (Table 2) as against 155.97 per 1,000 for Fijians in general.[69]

When we study the vital statistics in detail we note a great variation in rate of increase between the six islands. For Kambara the increase rate per 1,000 is 92, for Fulanga 258, for Ongea 40, for Namuka 245, and for Mothe 95. Thus Fulanga and Namuka have relatively a very high rate of increase, and Mothe, Kambara, and Ongea a low rate. Even though the figures with which we are dealing are small and there is a probability of error in census reports among people who are still to a great extent pre-literate, such a wide variation has significance. All have been equally exposed to the government health campaign. Hence there must be other important factors contributing to the rate of population growth.

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[68] Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.

[69] *Ibid.*

Besides direct health measures, other factors which may contribute toward social stability and population growth, such as the lack of inter-island warfare, the system of indirect rule, and peasant proprietorship apply fairly equally to all the islands. Other obvious factors which suggest themselves, such as the adequacy of the garden land, the loss of population by migration, disproportionate number of females to males in the population, and influence of the Tongans, fail to explain these differences. For instance, of Fulanga and Namuka, the two islands having by far the greatest increase in population, Fulanga has the least soil and garden produce of all the limestone islands, and Namuka has the most soil and enough food in excess of her needs to trade with the famine group. Moreover, of the other three islands, each of which shows a relatively small increase, Mothe has plenty of garden land and food, whereas Kambara and Ongea lack both. As far as migration is concerned, Fulanga, according to the genealogies, gains practically no inhabitants through inter-island marriage, for Fulangans on account of their low social standing are not sought in marriage by natives of other islands, and when such marriages do occur the couple usually does not settle on Fulanga but seeks better land on the island of the non-Fulangan spouse. Namuka on the other hand, because of her rich soil, gains inhabitants by marriage from all the famine islands. Of the islands having a disproportionately low increase, Mothe gains by marriage while Ongea and

Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the in- 161
clination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make [464]
excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and
more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any
of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all [162]
the islands show a disproportionately large number of females
to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase 161
we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several
traits in common which are absent in the other three islands. 182
The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity. Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands, according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently belong to the lower class. However, at least two other important factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

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[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

161 have been in closer contact with influences from the outside
182 world. Old tabus have broken down to a great extent on both islands and the morale is relatively low. The inhabitants are inclined to be self-pitying and to have lost a great deal of their energy. Moreover, these two islands are centers of the upper class and the conflict between the island chiefs and the colonial administration is reflected in unrest and political wrangling. These factors have probably played a rôle in retarding the rate of population growth.

It is clear from the above that any attempt to explain the increase of population of Fiji must take into account a complicated set of interacting factors, each of which contributes to the picture as a whole. From the analysis of population increase in southern Lau it seems fair to assume that, in this area at least, a factor of great importance in population growth is the presence of a spiritual force—a will to survive or zest for life—which grows out of a healthy and socially adjusted communal life. Here the greatest increase in population is found on islands least disturbed, not only by external influences but also by internal political jealousies.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau
Fiji OQ1

CHAPTER VII

ZEST FOR LIFE

LEARNING TO LIVE 539

A kena laya sa vakaonggo,
Sa ndrau na kena votu.

This is like its bud (or calyx)
Its result will appear a hundred fold.[71]

THE FIJIANS, like most pre-literate people, had no very 797
formal system of education before the coming of the
missionaries. The Wesleyan Methodists, however, shortly 871
after their arrival in Lakemba, began educational activities among the natives. They reduced the native language to written form and translated the New Testament. They introduced a system of village schools in which reading and writing the vernacular, arithmetic, and religion were taught by village pastors. Such schools were established at each mission station and increased with the spread of the gospel in the group. After having passed through the village schools, a few selected youths were trained to become pastor-teachers by a three years' course in a mission district school.

About twenty years after the arrival of the missionaries a central pastor-teacher's training institute was established at Mataisuva on Viti Levu. It was later moved, and finally settled at Ndavuilevu near Suva. Since 1908 this site has become a mission educational center which, besides the original pastor-teachers' training institute, includes a more advanced teachers' training institute, a theological institute, a technical school for Fijian boys, and a primary practice teaching school. The technical school offers training in handiwork, such as carpentry and printing. To fill the need for agricultural training, the mission established at Navuso an agricultural

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[71] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 111.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau

Fiji OQ1

871 school which provides a course in farming and dairying for
.797 young Fijian men. A mission farm school and technical workshop were established at Nailanga, and a farm school at Lautoka. All these institutions except the farm school at Lautoka are still carrying on their activities among the natives, and village schools established by the mission are now found in almost every native village.

For seventy years after the arrival of the first missionaries in Fiji native education was completely in their hands. The main rôle was played by the Wesleyan Methodists, but part was also taken by the Roman Catholics and the Seventh Day
[648] Adventists.[72] Since 1916, however, the colonial government has taken increasing responsibility for education of the natives in Fiji. In that year a superintendent of schools was appointed, and a board of education was established. The administration assumed greater control over native education as a result of the recommendations of the educational commission of 1926. A department of education was established and the board of education reconstituted.[73]

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648 The government assists the educational activities of the missionaries by contributing grants-in-aid to selected elementary schools which conform to their requirements in regard to the teaching of the English language. In 1936, such grants-in-aid, amounting to £8,767, were paid to 123 schools, with an attendance total of 8,783. The standards in these assisted schools vary, but in most of them the following subjects besides English are taught: arithmetic, history, geography, agriculture, hygiene, and manual work. In 1936 there were 117 unassisted elementary village schools for natives with an enrollment of 5,104. The curriculum in these schools is similar to that of the assisted schools except that English is usually absent.

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[72] *Annual Reports of the Department of Education*, Fiji, 1932, 1933, 1934; C. W. Mann, *Education in Fiji*, pp. 23-28, Melbourne, 1935.

[73] The department of education consists of the director of education, the assistant director of education, and inspectors appointed by the governor. The board of education consists of the director of education and eight others appointed by the governor. (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, Fiji, 1936, p. 1.)

Instruction is given in the vernacular by village pastors or 872 untrained teachers. The7 are not paid a regular salary but 648 receive remuneration in the form of assistance from their pupils in garden work. The government also subsidizes two mission schools for training native men teachers, one for native women teachers, and the Navuso agricultural school.[74]

Besides assisting the mission educational activities, the government maintains six elementary boarding schools, called provincial schools, in various parts of the colony, and one advanced elementary school to prepare gifted pupils for admission to government service, teachers' training schools and the central medical school. It also supports one teachers' training institution for native male teachers (at Natambua), and [874] the central medical school at Suva.

The total number of natives reported in school in 1936 was 871 15,569, of whom 8,972 were boys and 6,597 girls. The Gov- 648 ernment spent about £24,000 on the education of the natives, excluding funds for the central medical school.[75] Moreover, young Fijians are trained through the agricultural department of the central agricultural station to be field assistants; through the police department at the training school in Suva to be recruits; and through the public works department in boat building, engineering, boiler making, electric work, and motor repairing.

A limited amount of adult education for natives near government centers is provided through broadcasts of news and lectures in the vernacular and music for native listeners; through the organization of native women's guilds to teach mat plaiting, sewing and home making; and through small agricultural demonstration farms. These activities benefit the natives of outlying districts such as southern Lau only indirectly.

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[74] *Annual Report of the Department of Education*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 2, 9.
[75] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 45.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The agricultural demonstration farms are a recent experiment in the development of scientific agriculture among the natives. They aim to become native agricultural centers where methods of growing crops useful to native economy will be demonstrated; the services and advice of native field assistants will be available; seeds, planting material and small livestock will be distributed; and native produce will be collected for organized marketing when necessary. They also aim to serve as training centers where native farmers may settle. During 1936 five such centers were established in various parts of Fiji, and negotiations were made to start four more. The project will take some years to attain full development.[76]

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In an earlier chapter we followed the development of the Kambaran child from birth through childhood, initiation, and marriage into full-fledged adulthood. We saw how through imitation and experiment he learned to take his place in the community. He learned to live by actual participation in the life of the group. Through a long circular route western educators have finally arrived at the conclusion that the ideal type of education is that which enables the child to learn to live by these very methods. Hence it is clear that the most effective and efficient educational system for the natives is one which recognizes and utilizes the methods of inducting the child into group life already functioning in village life. According to modern standards, the ideal type of education for the Fijian would be controlled acceleration, extension, and elaboration of the learning process as it takes place in native village life today.

000 But what are to be the aims of this process? Granted that no matter what methods are used education should prepare a child for life, let us look at the type of life that can be reasonably expected for a Fijian child growing up today. We have seen in previous chapters that most natives, though they frequently leave their homes in youth to work on plantations,

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[76] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, p. 15.

finally settle down in their own villages as peasant proprietors 000 and work a piece of their own or their clan's ancestral land. Here they live on their ancestral land near the sacred places which symbolize the source of their power—the sacred clan "mana" of their living and dead ancestors. Their right to the land is protected by the colonial government, and hence they are assured the opportunity of earning a livelihood without competing seriously with other races. They can, by working their land, raise enough produce to cover their needs. Moreover, we have seen that under the present conditions in Fiji the natives fit into the picture best as peasant proprietors. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the aim of the system of native education in Fiji at present should be the preparation of native boys and girls for adult life in their own native villages.

To carry out this aim, the educational system must be based on an understanding of the fundamental pyschological set of the natives. It must recognize the fact that education in a culture such as the Fijian is desired mainly as a means for increasing social prestige, and it can take advantage of this to build up interest and initiative in creative production on the part of both men and women, that is, in the cultivation of the soil, in craftsmanship, and in ceremonial exchange. It must utilize not only their own methods of learning but also their own values and work rhythms to further refine the technics of living best suited to the particular needs of the people and limitations of environment.

Inasmuch as learning is an individual process with great individual variation and tends to emphasize individual achievement, such an educational system would necessarily emphasize status rather than rank in the social group—a move away from the old clan communism toward individualization. Hence by emphasizing personality it would automatically help to bridge the gap between the old native communal system and the new individualism, but at the same time would tend

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

> *Me loma vinaka na kalou*
> *A lutu manda na tokalau.*
>
> Let the gods be of a gracious mind
> And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 182 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

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[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Moreover,
because of the British policy of indirect rule, the native social system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense of social security in spite of the modern trend away from kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing, which is due in part at least to the government's systematic campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the promotion of sanitation and health. 178 182 648

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

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